20c MARCH 24, 1952

New Republic

After New Hampshire . . .

TRUMAN and TAFT

The Pressures on the President

An Editorial

Truman's New Biography

R. L. Strout

Taft's View of Our Economy

Second in a Series

Articles and Reviews by . . .

Robert Evett
Gerald W. Johnson
Theodore Kreps
Kathleen Raine

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Letters

"Market to Market . . . "

● I think your readers would be interested in the following letter I inserted into the Congressional *Record* last week from a farmer friend who paid $100 for a hog plus $37 in express charges, but when he took his 315 pound pig to market, he could only get $10 for it:

"Dear Friend Bill: I thought I would write you a few lines. I would like to know what is wrong with the hog market. I am sending you a slip where I got 10 cents a pound and it was a well-fed stag. I paid for that pig when I bought it $100 and $37 expenses. How can a person make a go of it when a person goes to the butcher's shop and buys hamburger or other pork? You will have to pay around 60 cents a pound and I am getting 10 cents a pound liveweight. Don't you think there is something wrong? . . . and when we got to listen to the talk that the farmer is making too much money. If most of the farmers will get a poor crop they will just about be broke. As ever, your friend, Anton Krauman, Richardton, N. Dak."

Mr. Krauman enclosed the receipt of his transaction—"No. 709246: Sold to Armour & Co., West Fargo, N. Dak.; Date, Feb. 26, 1952; weigher, E; from Richardton; shipper, Anton Krauman; net weight, 315; hog, 1; dock, 40; price, $10; amount, $31.50."

Of course the 23 cents per dozen farmers are getting for eggs is even worse, but it is all getting more reminiscent of the drought days.

WILLIAM LANGER
US Senator from
North Dakota

Washington, D. C.

Can We Live in Peace?

● I have read and reread "Can We Live in Peace?" by Prof. Arnold Toynbee (*NR*, Dec. 31). At the risk of being called a Communist, or at least a "fellow traveler," I am giving my impression of this article as follows.

To me the statements of Professor Toynbee appear to be a very clear demonstration of the confused thinking which is prevalent in our Western world today; even in the minds of British historians, who, in the past have seemed to me to be quite clear in their thinking. . . .

I quite agree with Professor Toynbee that the three questions which he propounds are highly controversial. But I cannot agree that "the most that any of us can do is to say what he personally expects and personally hopes. . . . "

In regard to rearming. I can find nothing in past history where arming has ever kept any nation out of war. Being armed gives a nation a better chance to win when it goes into war; but whenever any one nation goes to arming other nations are sure to do the same thing for self-defense. . . .

Professor Toynbee says "it is just as important for us now to keep on reminding ourselves that a third world war is really not inevitable, as it is important for us now to be firm and energetic and on the watch." It appears to me that it is just whistling in the dark to keep up our courage while we are making every effort to prepare for total war. Actions speak louder than words. . . . "

I fully agree with Professor Toynbee's negative reason for wishing to see the peaceful co-existence of our Western civilization and a Russian Communist society. But I cannot agree with the assumption "that America would win a third world war hands down," and the further assumption that the US "would come out of such a war without grave damage to herself."

There is no doubt that in a third world war all Europe as well as Africa and a large part of Asia would be laid flat. And the USA would probably lose it if she won. For the reaction from such a war might cause a revolution even in America.

I do not agree with Professor Toynbee's positive reason that "in order to keep morally fit, human nature needs to be exercised and kept in training by some devil or other." America is supposed to be a Christian nation. I have thought that the goal of Christianity was to reach the time when the nations of the earth will "beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruninghooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

I do not grasp Professor Toynbee's idea when, in referring to the competitive propaganda, he says, "This, I fancy, will go on until Asia becomes formidable enough to the rest of us to make the English-speaking people begin to look upon Russia as the white man's hope."

I cannot agree with Professor Toynbee's conclusion that "perhaps the unwritten condition on which we and the Russians are going to co-exist is that each party shall go on serving as the other party's devil. It appears to me that sooner or later it will be fought out in a shooting war.

Torrington, Wyo. FRED C. STRONG

The 1952 Campaign

● My suggestion a while back for a new party was, I am afraid, premature. The entry of Kefauver into the Presidential race, the prospect that Humphrey and Stevenson may run, the appointing of Newbold Morris, have somewhat raised my hopes. My Presidential preference is, however, Justice W. O. Douglas, and most of your readers seem to share this view. The Justice has said he will not run; he is at present very much a "dark horse," most voters being unaware of him. If he were nominated he would probably have to face the popular "Ike" (a Taft Republican ticket would increase Douglas' chances). Yet if there were sufficient popular support for the Justice he might accept the nomination. I concur with Victor S. Yarros (*NR*, March 3). Liberal Democrats and independents must organize to promote Douglas's candidacy. I agree it would help if Truman withdrew.

A movement has begun in Oregon to acquire a minimum of 1,000 signatures to enter Douglas in the Democratic primary. Let us start similar Douglas movements throughout the states; let us contact our

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

The Good Old Days

The President of the World Council of Methodist Bishops (Arthur J. Moore) says the South needs to return to the simple life when everybody believed in "hell, calomel and the Democratic Party." – *From an AP dispatch in the Raleigh (N.C.)* News and Observer.

Inflation

Alan Berni, president of the packaging and industrial design firm bearing his name, says the great present requirement in package design is one that will make the package appear larger. – *From the New York* Times.

Fabian Felony

The difference between Communists and Socialists is qualitative and one of kind. . . . They (Socialists) make speeches, write articles and sometimes pass out handbills. But they stop short of murder, slander, sabotage and espionage—knowingly. – *Dr. Ruth Alexander in the New York* Mirror.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

SOONER or later Eisenhower faces an ordeal. He must tell a press conference where he stands. Probably this press conference will be held in Washington. It will be the biggest in years. There will be kleig lights, radio, television. And the cruel questions will begin: "General Eisenhower, do you endorse FEPC?" "Do you favor farm supports?" "Should the government turn off-shore oil back to the states?" They will go on from there. Every time Ike says "yes" (or "no") he will make enemies because for the first time he will be taking sides. Now he is a myth, a glamor figure on a pedestal, the father-symbol of America's anxiety neurosis, the man who is all things to all men (with the honorable exception of foreign affairs where Ike is already known as a stout internationalist).

It is doubtful if pundits Walter Lippmann and Arthur Krock, who want Ike to come home right away, in defiance of his earlier pledge that he wouldn't, fully appreciate the ordeal ahead. It is one thing for a man to come home when his chances are desperate, another when he seems to be making out pretty well as a noncommittal figure. Ike did all right in New Hampshire; Taft discovered the truth of an old political law that nobody can win an argument with a bronze monument. The unreality of American politics is supremely illustrated in the success Ike is having without speaking. From a purely cynical point of view the longer Ike stays on his pedestal, we assume, the better.

We prefer Ike to Taft any day because Taft is dead wrong on foreign affairs. But we would like to repeat here that a GOP landslide behind a glamor figure like Ike would re-elect a batch of the worst isolationist Republican Senators we have had since Harding: Bricker, Cain, Ecton, Jenner, Kem, Langer, McCarthy, Malone, Martin and Watkins. They are GOP albatrosses around Ike's neck. Ike would be bound to support them in the campaign; they would be bound to attack him once re-elected. The leader of a Republican-controlled Senate after an Ike landslide would be our old friend Bob Taft, waiting to "co-operate" with Eisenhower like a wounded tiger co-operating with the hunter who shot him.

We dropped in to watch Averell Harriman testify for the $7.9 billion foreign-aid program. You have to be there in person to sense the deep hostility surrounding this program in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; a new mood that is a sure forerunner of what lies ahead in Congress. How things have changed in this committee—Vandenberg dead, and Connally gone over to the extreme side of "economy" demagoguery. Purple-faced Connally devoted himself to the plodding, inarticulate Harriman who, however, kept his temper and on the whole did a pretty good job. Hatred of Truman on the GOP side has reached a point where there is sullen resentment of anything he offers. Sen. Alexander Wiley (R, Wis.) revealingly commented that experts expect no overt Russian act anyway. Nobody can watch these hearings without realizing there is a rebellion against continued foreign-aid expenditures.

Parenthetically, it is interesting to note the position of two of our biggest and most respectable opinion-forming groups on any key issues. The American Bar Association came out against the Truman-Hoover Internal Revenue Bureau reform plan; the US Chamber of Commerce is conducting an organized campaign to cut Truman's foreign-aid program by $5.8 billions. Add to that, if you want, the American Medical Association's fight against federal aid to bankrupt hospitals and medical schools. Our Better Element strongly favors the status quo.

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Most attention is now being centered on two up-coming primaries on the Republican side—April 1 in Wisconsin where we will find out if Taft's ignominious bargain with McCarthy was worth in votes the moral degradation it involved—and April 15 in New Jersey, for the next round in the Taft-Ike elimination bout. But two other contests are of equal importance to Democrats. The tall, modest Kefauver runs up against millionaire oil man Kerr in the Democratic primary in Nebraska on April 1, the same day as Wisconsin's. Kerr is acting as lieutenant, or favorite son, for Truman, and a Kefauver victory is almost essential for his continued candidacy. Then Kefauver takes on Dick Russell himself, the Dixiecrat champ, in Florida, on May 6. It is the only direct Kefauver-Russell collision so far scheduled. Florida has no poll tax, incidentally, and a good many Negroes vote.

We have never seen Senators so angry as were some of those who had to vote for the Internal Revenue Reorganization Plan to give up political patronage. The whole press gallery chuckled when Kem (R, Mo.) voted on the side of the angels.

Notes: Kefauver has followed Truman in urging two-year party conventions to bring order into the anarchy of American politics and some meaning into party coalitions. . . . Steel companies are expected to reject the Wage Board's finding and precipitate Truman's most serious labor problem. . . . The Hiram Bingham Loyalty Review Board is being asked to search out disloyal members who leak its secrets; as the situation stands an accused person is denied access to all information, but Senator McCarthy gets it for his own purposes. . . . The Senate votes soon on offshore (tidelands) oil, whether to turn $50 billion of resources over to public use or hand it back to three states for private exploration; it is one of the key votes of 1952. . . . Many observers think the Jackson Day dinner March 29 the final date when Truman can still control party destiny; if he does not declare intentions by then the situation will be out of hand.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

state delegates, and urge Douglas' nomination; let us make his qualification known to the public. If enough delegates were persuaded in his favor they might borrow a trick from those Republicans who demanded and chose Willkie. Democrats can also override party bosses.

A Republican victory will be largely a reaction against Truman and administration scandals, rather than a rejection of the Fair Deal. Assured that a Democratic President need not mean a continuation of mediocrity and corruption the voter might consider the possible results of a Republican administration. Not only would it mean the vetoing of most Fair Deal legislation (if it managed to squeeze past the Republican-Dixiecrat alliance), it would mean a greater chance of war extended to China, for example, of aid to Chiang and Franco, of a more severe loyalty probe, more severe "anti-Communist" measures; and less chance of civil liberties and civil-rights legislation, of aid to Tito (and consequently less secession from the Soviet empire), and less economic aid or co-operation abroad. After all, none of the proposed Republican nominees could afford to risk losing the support of their party.

On the other hand, we have Douglas' proposal of aid abroad and encouraging of "Titoism" . . . as well as his liberal record.

For vice president I suggest Hubert Humphrey, next Adlai Stevenson. And let us not forget, an overwhelmingly Fair Deal Congress must be returned to defeat the Republican-Dixiecrat bloc. *There* an unofficial conservative "party" has been formed.

San Francisco, Calif. KATHLEEN WATERS

"Sex Murder, Inc."

● The *New Republic* deserves congratulations for the effectiveness of its article, "Sex Murder, Inc.," dealing with the Mickey Spillane novels. (*NR*, Feb. 11) Since then, it has been reported, Spillane has decided to stop writing those kind of books.

Shortly before the article came out, the military PX at Treasure Island, in San Francisco Bay, had discontinued these books on request of one of the local chaplains. But the *New Republic* article seems to have been the only published commentary; so I think you can take at least part of the credit for the result.

San Francisco, Calif. GEORGE OLSHAUSEN

Liberalism Is Costly

● It's very expensive to be liberal (intellectual) today. Only a moderately well-to-do person can afford to be actively liberal. Of course, the very rich can afford to be radical.

Here are the facts:

I want to be actively liberal. What does this mean? It means that I must join a union—this costs a minimum of $18 a year. I want to be a member of the American Civil Liberties Union—a minimum of $5 a year. I want to be a member of the Liberal Party—$5 a year. I want to attend the annual functions of the Alumni Association of my very liberal college, City College—at least $10 a year. I want to join the Metaphysical Society of America—$5 a year. I want to subscribe to the Journal of Philosophy—$5 a year. I want to attend the functions of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom—at least $5 a year. I want to join the Americans for Democratic Action—at least $3 a year. The daily newspapers must be read—25 cents a day. Rallies and banquets and contributions, etc., throughout the year—at least $25 a year.

Well, who can afford this?

Of course, only the upper-bracket people.

But I am a high-school teacher.

Brooklyn, New York MARTIN WOLFSON

Rating the Senators

● That poll on the Senators (*NR*, March 3) is by far the most valuable and significant material that we have had in the 1952 campaign so far. And, hurrah for Owen Lattimore, I say! Thank you for such a fine report of all that Lattimore said.

Smethport, Pa. JOSEPH G. MASTERS

Friends Service Committee

● I would like to call your attention to the Spring Conference of the American Friends Service Committee, New England Region, at Boston from April 18-20. The theme of the conference is "Does our Economic System Lead to War?" and leaders include Claire Bishop, writer and lecturer from France; Kenneth Boulding, University of Michigan professor of economies; A. J. Muste, National Secretary of The Fellowship of Reconciliation in the US; Scott Fearing, sociologist and author; and Hans Christian Sonne, chairman of the National Planning Association's Board of Trustees.

Overnight hospitality will be provided students at no cost and minimum hotel rates will be given to others who register before April 10. Registrations should be mailed to:

Russell Johnson, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.

Cambridge, Mass. RUSSELL JOHNSON

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New Republic

THE PRESSURES ON THE PRESIDENT

"BETTER *had it been for Cicero, after Cataline's regency to have retired and grown old, and for Scipio after his Numantine and Carthaginian conquests to have sat down contended.*" These lines were copied by President Truman into his diary one lonely evening in the White House. Perhaps, as he prepares his March 29 speech he is pondering again the judgment of the historian, set apart from the plans of an inner circle and the pressures of onrushing events. He knows the plans of the inner circle. He knows that delay means growing pressure for his own candidacy. He must dread his responsibility in choosing. Yet the historians' verdict warns him against the wished-for escape—a statement to the Jefferson-Jackson Day banquet that the convention must make the decision which he alone can make.

It was before the same audience of party leaders at the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner four years ago that Truman rallied his disheartened listeners with the astonishing announcement that "The next President of the United States will be a Democrat—and you are looking at him!" Substantial influence is now being brought to bear on the President to make the same brave commitment on March 29 in the same blunt way.

Foremost in this group are Secretary Acheson and Averell Harriman who are urging Truman to run again or at least to make no commitment to withdraw, in the belief that Truman's withdrawal now will weaken our government in Europe. Scarcely less appealing are militant Democrats who tell the President in all sincerity that he alone among Democratic candidates has the guts to grapple with the enemy on every political front in 1952. Less appealing, but equally effective, is the advice of the men around Truman whose concern is their power, derived from him. Rubbing the salt of New Hampshire into reopened wounds, screening out Democrats who will speak their minds, insisting that corruption in government is a minor issue, and playing on the President's righteous anger against Republicans and Dixiecrats who would wreck his major achievements, these men may ginger Truman up until he grasps the Fair Deal banner and marches to the head of his troops.

Against this vocal and ever-present group is the silent conviction of most of the leaders and supporters of Truman's party that miracles do not occur twice. In contrast to the advocates of Truman's candidacy this group of regulars is necessarily inarticulate and diffuse. (The pack waits until Akila is thrown.)

For these reasons the President, forgetting the historian's verdict, may conclude that the strength of his candidacy outweighs its personal sacrifice. The New Hampshire primary does not sustain this view. The outcome in New Hampshire cannot be interpreted, as Senator Kefauver was quick to point out, as a vote of opposition to Fair Deal policies since Kefauver supports the Truman program on almost every count. But Democratic voters want new faces to lead them in the old fight. That the President has not been unaware of this aspect of the coming campaign is shown by the overtures he has made to Gov. Adlai Stevenson. Conceivably Stevenson might have the same fresh appeal as Kefauver. But continued public uncertainty about Truman's intentions can destroy Stevenson's chances.

After April 8, the date of the Illinois primary, Stevenson will have completed the nomination stage of his campaign for re-election to the governorship and would presumably be free to spend a certain amount of time outside Illinois in meeting key Democrats and making himself and his views known. If by that date, however, Truman still has not clarified his own position, Stevenson, as one who is a candidate only if Truman is not, will be constrained from making more than token appearances across the nation. In the May 16 Oregon Presidential primary, the one contest in which Stevenson and Kefauver will meet, this can be disastrous for the man who supposedly is Truman's first choice as a successor. Stevenson is virtually unknown in Oregon; Kefauver's is a familiar name and face because of the headlines and his three appearances in the state at Democratic gatherings in the last three years. Unless he is free to make a vigorous and intense drive for votes, Stevenson may suffer such a loss in Oregon as to rule out a national victory later on.

We state no preference as between these two men. But, as one group of supporters who may be found in Truman's corner if he runs, we hope that, in preparing for March 29, the President will read over his diary, heed the advice of Lucullus, and make known his intention in time.

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THE WEEK

SLEUTHS AND PATRONAGE

Some of Capitol Hill's ace sleuths who have displayed unusual proficiency in capturing headlines while uncovering corruption in the federal government have been among the most reluctant about taking direct action against the corruption. Last week their bluff was called twice.

Their efforts to preserve the system responsible for much of the corruption in the Bureau of Internal Revenue went for naught as the entire Senate, by a 53 to 37 count, voted approval of President Truman's plan for removing Collectors of Internal Revenue from the cherished "pork barrel" category and placing them under the Civil Service System. The House had previously voted approval unanimously.

Apparently satisfied with their patronage and "Truman's corruption," such eager corruption-exposers as Sens. Joseph McCarthy (R, Wis.), Richard Nixon (R, Calif.), John McClellan (D, Ark.), Karl Mundt (R, S.Dak.) and Eugene D. Millikin (R, Col.) fought bitterly but unsuccessfully to preserve their patronage-rich hunting ground.

President Truman had set the stage for the floor fight in a letter to the Senate saying that this would provide an opportunity for proving exactly who wanted to take positive action against corruption. The ball was effectively carried by three first-term Senators, Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.), A. S. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) and Blair Moody (D, Mich.). Monroney talked about the "rotten cancer of political favoritism and patronage," declaring that those who opposed the plan were hanging out a sign, "No reforms wanted here." In an election year it was too tough a line for some of the Senators to buck.

McCarthy, Nixon and Mundt suffered another rough jolt. As members of the Senate Permanent Investigating Subcommittee they had enjoyed the prospect of baiting another newsworthy witness, the President's nominee to clean up the government, liberal New York Republican Newbold Morris. They wanted to question him on the part he and his law firm played in a surplus tanker deal which earned some $2.8 million from an initial $100,000 investment. Two of the tankers had carried oil to Communist China from July, 1949, to April, 1950, prior to the Korean War. A good case against Morris could well stall Truman's cleanup program.

Senator McCarthy, his usual indelicate self, told Morris that "it would appear that either you are the greatest dope or dupe of all times, or you were directly responsible for making a great amount of money soaked in American blood." These and similar remarks reflected on his patriotism, Morris exclaimed. He turned on McCarthy, saying: "You've knocked off a lot of characters but you're not going to knock off me!"

Directing his fire at the trio again later, Morris referred to the "diseased minds in this chamber." Later he said:

> . . . in Washington in the past three years you have created an atmosphere so vile that the people have lost confidence in their government . . . I'm talking about what you have done to Dean Acheson [Secretary of State] to Anna Rosenberg [Assistant Secretary of Defense] and David Lilienthal [former Atomic Energy Commission chairman] and others. It's your business, this character assassination. . . .

In post-mortems after the session, Morris told reporters: "I couldn't help but think that this new system of character destruction is doing to injure both spirit and letter of the Constitution."

Senators Mundt, Nixon and McCarthy had their post-mortems too. Having a witness showing as little respect for them as they normally showed a witness was a rare and unhappy experience. Nixon called Morris' performance "one of the most disgraceful I have ever seen" and said he hoped that the President would get someone else to clean out corruption in government.

OREGON—THE LAST PHASE

Even while the nation watched the first primary in New Hampshire, attention was focusing on the last state popularity contest this year, to be held in Oregon on May 16. Both Truman and Taft deftly avoided entering this final test. But supporters of Sen. Estes Kefauver and Gov. Adlai Stevenson have filed their favorites in the Democratic Presidential primary and have entered full slates of convention delegates.

At the outset, Kefauver has a wide lead with Oregon Democrats, having spoken here three times in the last three years. Stevenson will make his debut here on May 1 at the Jefferson-Jackson celebration, and Kefauver will probably be invited to share the rostrum. Since both men are classed as New Dealers, attention of local Democrats will be focused on the candidates' positions on civil rights. Two years ago Portland voters waged a bitter election fight to force hotels and restaurants to serve Negroes. They lost.

A strange quirk in the Oregon law permitted filing of the name of William O. Douglas in the Presidential primary against his will. Remnants of the Wallace Progressive Party filed the Supreme Court Justice as a protest against the Administration's foreign policy. Douglas has retaliated by buying a page in the state voters' pamphlet urging Democrats not to waste their votes on him.

Indian Election

After months of balloting and weeks of vote counting the final returns of the crucial first Indian elections have now come in. The following are the final breakdowns in the vote for the central parliament from India's single member constituency.

Party	*Vote*	*Percent of vote*	*Seats Won*
Congress	47,839,832	44.47	363
Socialists	11,009,740	10.23	12
Communists	5,892,794	5.44	27
K.M.P.P.	5,660,799	5.26	10
Hindu-Right	4,198,521	3.90	7
Castes	2,370,255	2.20	2
Independents	1,521,746	14.42	36

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TALE OF THREE BUDGETS

New proof that the Soviet Union is bent only on peaceful pursuits has been discovered by Radio Moscow. This being budget season on both sides of the Iron Curtain, the Soviets point out that only 23 percent of their 477 billion ruble budget is allocated to military purposes. Since the US is proposing to spend about $65 billion of its $85 billion total of government expenditures on military programs, this proves, they say, that Washington is at least several times more aggressive than Russia.

But comparison between budget totals is almost completely invalid as an index of what the two countries are doing. For one thing the Russian budget, of course, includes much investment that in the US is done by private industry, making the *percentage* of military spending relatively smaller. But more important, the Soviets have also recently accelerated a long-term policy of undervaluing the raw materials that go into war production. Thus, the Soviets adjust their prices to make up a nice-looking budget, while the US has to boost its budget to keep up with runaway prices.

While the battle continued to rage between the economists in Washington and Moscow, a minor fray was touched off in London when Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler presented *his* budget to the House of Commons. Taking a small step away from Labour's controlled economy, Butler proposed cutting Britain's food subsidies in return for lower taxes. Since Labour's controls had gotten into a rigid snarl, Butler's proposals were widely approved if only because they seemed to reflect a healthy flair for experimentation.

Butler proposed armament expenditures at almost exactly the same level Labour had set last year. But the howls came nevertheless, especially from Aneurin Bevan, and, much more softly, from American officials who pointed out that Butler's figures seemed to indicate that even the British are hedging against the commitments they made at Lisbon. They're waiting to see what Congress does to the big American budget, especially the foreign-aid part.

PERSPECTIVE: *Economic Politics*

If Washington's wisdom were measured by the number of its economists, it should have a near-monopoly of this precious product. But listening for relevant facts and competent analyses from its public servants, the people usually get only orations from Capitol Hill, where economic problems are almost always hopelessly entangled with election campaigns.

Thus for the past several weeks, for instance, the papers have carried considerable comment on an organization called the International Materials Conference (*NR*, July 16, 1951) a consultative body which has been trying for the past year to alleviate the raw-material shortage which resulted from the rearmament pickup. Under its allocations the US has received from 47 percent to 75 percent of the free world's supply of seven strategic materials, while quietly saving the consumer nations millions of dollars by regulating the supply and demand channels. One thing is clear about the IMC—it has nothing whatsoever to do with the domestic allocation of materials, a function which is wholly in the hands of the Defense Production Administration.

The IMC, however, has now been declared responsible for the unemployment in Detroit. "This fantastic brainchild of the State Department," cried Sen. Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.) recently, "robs many thousands of autoworkers of their jobs. "A super-cartel," echoed Rep. Joe Martin (R, Mass.) "is causing serious unemployment in Detroit." For days the two politicians kept up the attack. The strategy clearly was not to bother with criticism of the DPA, which is run largely by businessmen anyway, but to link the materials troubles to Dean Acheson's evil international plottings.

"Marxism has now reached international proportions," cried Ferguson to a bored Senate audience. "The central principle of Marxist ideology is from each according to his ability to each according to his need. That is the basis on which the new copper trust, the IMC, is now proceeding to divide up the world's production of copper." Quick on the uptake, Joe Martin called an "emergency meeting" of Republican Congressmen whose home districts have politically explosive ratios of unemployment. Comes the campaigning, they'll pass the good word along.

But although they can claim the most accomplished masters in the art, the Republicans are not the only ones to practice the economics of demagogy. Sometimes even fairly responsible legislators like Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.) feel the urge to waft pleasant but empty words of economy to the businessmen back home. Economy is always difficult when it comes to cutting specific appropriations, but in the meantime big figures make big headlines.

O'Mahoney, who heads the Joint Economic Committee recently called a press conference to announce a substantial but dry report examining the problem of how to balance the budget. Prepared by competent staff economists, the printed report states the mathematical truism that, with no tax increases, balancing the budget would theoretically require a $10 billion expenditures slash. *But it then went on to give a long list of reasons why a slash of that magnitude was both unwise and impossible.*

However in announcing the report to the press, O'Mahoney conveniently overlooked the crucial "buts." To the newsmen, who were given only a preliminary draft of the report, O'Mahoney announced that his committee was recommending "that the cash budget should be balanced and that a sufficient reduction — approximately $10 billion — should be made in government expenditures."

The reporters dashed back to their desks. By the time the stories got printed in home newspapers, the headlines read "O'MAHONEY FOR $10 BILLION BUDGET CUT." O'Mahoney, needless to say, is running for re-election this year.

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Outside America

FRANCE NEEDS MORAL SUPPORT

THE EFFECT of the present difficulties of the French body politic on opinion in other countries has a certain resemblance to the effect on friends and neighbors of chronic dermatological disorder of individual persons. As the writhings and laments seem to continue endlessly, sympathy for the sufferers turns into impatience, irritation and even anger.

This is not to say that the French difficulties are merely skin deep. They are certainly the surface symptoms of substantial problems—social and psychological as well as economic and political—that have been developing for a long time. It *is* to say, however, that alarmist diagnoses in America are unjustified. The French need help if they are to solve their problems and play their part in the Atlantic Community; but with the right kind and the adequate amount of help—which, in addition to material things, includes continuing sympathy and understanding—they *will* come through.

It is true, of course, that France has had nearly a score of government crises since the French people in 1945 adopted a new Constitution whose main purpose was to improve the chances of governmental stability. Moreover, the French have been fighting a war in Indo-China longer than we have been fighting in Korea; and proportionally it costs them more in blood and treasure. Their industrial production is 50 percent higher than before the war; and though this result might not have been achieved without our help, it is equally true that they have fully and well used the help. The Schuman and Pleven Plans are the only new, general political ideas to come out of the Old World which rank with the Marshall Plan.

If leading French conservatives as opposed in their views on present foreign policy as the arch-Atlanticist François Mauriac of *Le Figaro* and the leading neutralist Hubert Beuve Mery of *Le Monde* are equally unheeded when they call upon their countrymen to act as manfully and with as much patriotic social discipline as the British, there are historical reasons. It was on August 2, 1914, that the French paper franc was cut brutally away from its traditional gold cover. The date is significant. The present difficulties of saving either France or the franc cannot be accurately judged without awareness that France was devastated in the first war, invaded, occupied and subjected to the poisons of collaboration in the second; and that the French have never recovered from the cost in blood, gold, will and social cohesion.

More recently, the French have suffered even more than the British, the West Germans or the Italians from the effects of rising world prices and restricted international trade. In Indo-China, they are bearing a heavier burden than any other country, except the United States. They have more men under arms abroad than the British. Yet, they are going ahead with fulfilling as well as they can their commitments at home. And in no one of the votes in the National Assembly were there (outside the Communists) as many dissenting voices on the issue of Atlantic rearmament as the 57 Aneurin Bevan was able to muster in the House of Commons.

Indeed, one of the signs of fundamental health in French politics was the fact that when an important split took place it was not in a party of the Left but in one of the Right. General de Gaulle may recover from the effect of the defection of the 27 members of the Rally of the French People, who voted for the investiture of Antoine Pinay. Nevertheless, his failure to impose a rigid party discipline suggests that it is too early to question whether the issue in France is to shift from guns *or* butter to rearmament *or* democracy.

It is perhaps an exaggeration to accept the official view that the present quarrels among Frenchmen are exclusively about domestic politics. Votes for or against specific measures to help "save the franc," to hasten or delay "social justice," to bring about or parry a better, more equitable and more efficient method of collecting taxes, to continue the war in Indo-China or to let West Germany into the Atlantic Defense Community do in fact disguise at times votes for co-operation with the Atlantic Community or for neutralism of one sort or another. Unlike the British, there are unfortunately a number of Frenchmen who are the moral products of their country's tragic material experiences, and who therefore have the courage only of veiled passive resistance or of oblique sabotage. They are however a relatively small minority; and there seems to be a good chance that a majority is in fact being jolted into acting together.

The London *Times* and most European newspapers which really understand the complexities of French politics believe that, short of Gaullism, there "is no real alternative" to the present majority—either Right of Center, or Left of Center. That means a constant, delicate and politically dangerous jockeying for position—far from what Americans consider stability.

Lest Americans become intrigued with de Gaulle's promises of social justice, and more importantly of legal, constitutional changes to bring about governmental stability (as has, apparently, the Washington *Post*), they should note that his French version of the American Presidential system would give him all the powers of Napoleon the Third in a state, not loosely federated like the United States but about as centralized as Louisiana. He would have no Supreme Court to check him; he would be able to dissolve any legislature which voted no-confidence after less than a year's experience, and decree a new general election on his terms; and he would appoint the equivalents of the American state governors and all local officials. The European army would be a French army; and the French army would be his—the personal fief of a man not notoriously friendly either to America or to Britain.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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FROM DOCTRINE TO DICTATORSHIP

(In this second of two articles on "What Happened to Marxism" G. D. H. Cole develops his analysis from the "Revisionist" controversy of the 1890's to the present day.)

by G. D. H. Cole

WHAT HAPPENED in Germany happened also in other countries, wherever the Socialists came to exert a wide influence on the electorate and therewith on the policies of rival parties which had to bid against them for votes. The parliamentary Socialist parties ceased after a time to believe either in a coming "final crisis" of capitalism or in the need for revolution or for the creation of a brand-new state made to represent exclusively the class interests of the proletariat. They became aware that the middle classes, instead of being ground to powder between the millstones of concentrated capitalism and a propertyless proletariat, were increasing in both numbers and influence and that the proletariat, instead of constituting a larger and larger proportion of society, was actually shrinking in relative numbers. They had to cast their electoral appeals in forms which would attract, or at least not antagonize, the growing groups lying between the proletariat proper and the *bourgeoisie*, and they began to see that Marx's statement about the inescapable decline of the old *petite bourgeoisie* of master craftsmen, small shopkeepers and the like had no relevance to the position of the developing salariat of modern capitalist societies. Some sought refuge in the notion that the failure of the theory of capitalist concentration and "increasing misery" to work out according to Marx's prescription could be explained as the consequence of imperialism, which enabled the skilled workers and the intermediate groups in advanced capitalist societies to live better on the plunder derived from exploitation of more backward peoples. But this explanation, despite its grain of truth, was never satisfying.

The progress of revised and diluted Marxism, as the accompaniment to developing opportunities for parliamentary action, in the countries of Western Europe led to a sharp divergence between Western Social Democracy and the movements bearing the same label in countries in which no similar opportunities existed. In Russia, Marxism had made its appearance as a Westernizing force in opposition to Slav forms of Socialism and Anarchism which based the hope of social revolution on the peasant and stressed the communal elements in the historical tradition of the Russian village. The Russian Social Democrats believed that their country would have to pass, on its way to Socialism, through a phase of industrialization and capitalist development, as the necessary condition for the creation of a proletariat capable of leading the revolution and creating the new society. As Western Social Democracy revised its doctrine, a section of the Social Democrats in Russia followed in its wake, and became ready, not merely to help the development of capitalism, but to do what it could to help the Russian capitalists to set up a capitalist-controlled state. Another section, while it too was prepared to further industrialization and to co-operate with the capitalist parties in attacking feudalism, held that the Socialists must stand ready to turn upon the capitalists in the very moment of their victory and immediately to convert the capitalist revolution into a proletarian revolution. On the necessity of some sort of revolution there was no dissent: the question concerned its nature and its immediate outcome.

These differences of attitude did not crystallize all at once; but they came gradually, under Lenin's masterful influence, to constitute the dividing line between the Menshevik and the Bolshevik social philosophies. Looking primarily at the Russian situation and regarding the rest of the world through Russian eyes, Lenin saw nothing that invalidated Marx's essential doctrines. The Russian state was clearly a class enemy, and it was futile to attempt to use the Duma as an instrument for constructive economic and social change in the worker's interest. Russia's need was for a closely knit, disciplined revolutionary party making its chief appeal to the proletariat, which, though small, was largely concentrated in a few great factories and grievously exploited. Misery, if not "increasing misery," was an evident characteristic of the Russian people; and in Russia, what middle class existed was made up largely of officials and hangers-on of the feudal state and of the aristocracy. There was no problem of a rapidly growing intermediate group or of a tendency of the skilled workers to acquire bourgeois characteristics. In these circumstances Lenin, having explained the Western deviations from the Marxist pattern by his development of the theory of imperialism, arrived at the startling conviction that Russia, though it could not by-pass the capitalist stage of social evolution, could pass through it under the control of the victorious proletariat.

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The one necessary condition for this was that the proletariat should get the main body of the poorer peasants onto its side, and accept its leadership.

This was the theory of "State Capitalism" as a transitional stage—a striking new excrescence on the Marxian doctrine.

In effect, Lenin argued that the proletariat need not wait until the "conditions of production" were ripe and capitalism fully developed before seizing power, but could leap in under favorable conditions and with good leadership, and use its disciplined organization to bring about the economic revolution. This view was strongly opposed by the German Social Democrats, headed by Karl Kautsky, who argued against it on the double ground that only an advanced industrial country could be in a position to build up the institutions appropriate to Socialism and that the proletarian dictatorship, which Lenin regarded as the necessary instrument, would poison the revolution by destroying its democratic character. A violent pamphlet controversy among Lenin, Kautsky, Trotsky and others made clear the sharp cleavage in doctrine: this turned chiefly on the question of the dictatorship, for which Lenin could find support in a number of passages in Marx's writings, including the *Communist Manifesto*, the *Civil War in France* and the *Critique of the Gotha Program*. But the meaning of these passages was hotly disputed; and, even when it was admitted that Marx had written in support of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it was argued that he had done so because in his time the road to a constitutional conquest of political power had not been open. For my part, I feel sure that Lenin's view of Marx's doctrine concerning the dictatorship came much nearer the truth than Kautsky's, but that Kautsky was correct in regarding Lenin's advocacy of "State Capitalism" as a sharp departure from Marx's doctrine of historical evolution.

At any rate, the Bolsheviks made their revolution, and professed to make it in Marx's name. But because of the economic immaturity of Russia and the limited development of a proletariat the new order had to develop as the political dictatorship of a party rather than of a class, and it did not so much rest on economic foundations already laid as set about building these foundations by political means. The Communist Party, in its activity in the Soviet Union after 1917, was certainly not, in any ordinary sense, a mere part of the superstructure raised on economic foundations: it was itself the creative agent in bringing that new economic order into being. Moreover, this predominance of the Party, far from diminishing as the Soviet Union consolidated its power, grew steadily greater under Stalin's leadership; and the state showed signs of "withering away," as had been promised, only in the sense that the formal machinery of government became more and more subordinate to the "democratic centralism" of the Communist Party.

To sum up. There are in the world today three main kinds of Marxist theory and practice. There is the Social Democratic variant, upheld by a number of Marxist parties, chiefly in Western Europe. The adherents of this school cling to a general framework of Marxist terminology and doctrine, and continue to teach Marxist economics, including the theory of surplus value, the assertion of the class struggle as the main factor in historical development, and the materialist conception of history that affirms the predictability of the future.

On the other hand, this school has given up Marx's theory of the state as essentially a class instrument to be destroyed and made anew to serve the interests of a new governing class. For this they have substituted a theory of parliamentary democracy which makes the consent of a majority of the electorate a pre-condition of Socialism and rejects any exclusion from citizen rights of those who are the "class enemies" of the workers. This school has also for the most part thrown over Marx's doctrines of "increasing misery" and of "capitalist concentration" as leading to the extinction of intermediate groups, and has accepted the idea of using the parliamentary instrument for advancing in the direction of the Welfare State and for reducing economic inequality by gradual stages. In practice there is little, except differences of terminology and of economic theory (but not economic practice), to distinguish this type of Marxist Social Democracy from the non-Marxist Socialism of the British Labour Party. However, Continental Social Democracy retains its "laicity" and much of Marx's hostility to religion, and holds to a broadly deterministic philosophy.

At the other extreme stand the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and its satellites, the Communist Parties of Western Europe, and in varying degrees the Communist Parties of Asia, Africa and America. These schools of Marxists accept, and stress, the political as well as the economic side of Marxism. They promote to a key position the Marxian view of the state, and cite what Marx said about dictatorship as a justification for the disciplined power of the Communist Party and for the role assigned to it in creating and leading the new society. They also accept, and carry further, Lenin's interpretation of Marx's views on imperialism, which they describe as "the last stage of capitalism." Indeed they constantly invoke Lenin's doctrine about impe-

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rialism as explaining the behavior of the capitalist countries and lying at the root of the present conflicts in world affairs.

They also take over from the *Communist Manifesto*, and carry much further, the assertion that there can be for the proletariat only one right and "scientific" policy that fits the trend of social evolution, and that the Communist Party is the sole guardian and interpreter of this policy—so that anyone who stands out against what the party has decided is a "social traitor," with no right to enjoy the advantages of free speech and organization for the advocacy of "counter-revolutionary" ideas. This notion of the one right policy rises logically from Marx's exaltation of the class as the instrument of history and of the determined role the class is called upon to play. It sets Communist Parties in sharp opposition to the Western Social Democrats on all the great issues of freedom of speech, party discipline and even respect for truth. For, as to the last, the full Marxist conception of morality as merely part of the superstructure, dependent on the character of class relations, makes class interest, as against any moral consideration of truth or justice, the final criterion of how the party and its members ought to speak and act.

The third group of Marxists is much harder to define; for it consists mainly of those who have, for one reason or another, revolted against the other two. It is made up partly of seceders from Communist orthodoxy of the Stalinist type, and partly of dissidents from the "revised" and watered-down Marxism of the Western Social Democratic Parties. It thus includes the Yugoslav Communist Party, which is moving fast away from the "democratic centralism" of its earlier phase to a lively attempt at decentralization and diffusion of power among the workers, and it also includes many individual Socialists in the West who want a more militant policy and are distrustful of the tendency to substitute the ideal of the Welfare State for that of Socialism as a comprehensive system resting on a worker-controlled society permeated by the spirit of industrial as well as of political democracy.

Libertarian Socialism cannot, however, be squared with a full acceptance of Marxism in its philosophical aspects. Whatever variant interpretations of Marx's opinions may be defensible, his authoritarian temper is surely beyond dispute. He belonged to that way of thinking—that peculiarly German way—in which the abstract is always made to appear more real than the concrete, in which the "phenomenal" and the "subjective" are ruled out as serious aspirants to the ranks of the higher being. In the central argument of *Capital*, both the individual capitalist and the individual worker are refined away, leaving only a gigantic universal representative of the spirit of capitalism and a fine dust made up of countless units of abstract, undifferentiated human labor. His proletariat consists not of so many individual workmen but of this fine dust somehow cemented together by its struggle against capitalism into an immense lump of sheer "labor power." Such a mass would be impotent could it not be animated by some kind of collective will. This will, as the *Manifesto* of 1838 makes plain, it is the mission of the party to provide. It is the will, not of a number of individual proletarians, but of the proletariat itself—a single will, arising out of the material circumstances in which the proletariat is placed and independent for that reason of the private will of the atoms which the struggle unifies. In this fundamental way of thinking the Communists of the Soviet Union, and not the Western Social Democrats, are the true heirs of Karl Marx.

The paradox that Marx was driven, and drove others, by the inspiration of a moral fury to which his philosophy denied all final validity has been noted again and again. His very insistence, from the *Theses on Feuerbach* onwards, on the unity of thought and action, implied a purposive use of the power of thought and a standard of right and wrong behind the purpose. But how could there be such a standard, if moral notions were mere emanations of material economic relations, rising out of the changing development of the "powers of production"?

For Marx such a question had no meaning because he attributed his own moral purposes to the material order of nature and held unquestionably an optimistic doctrine of world progress as guaranteed by the forces of natural law. In this deterministic optimism he was a direct descendant of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, to which he reverted, after taking Hegel in his stride, a great deal more than he knew. His atomic diagnosis of the proletariat looked right to one who was observing, mainly through blue-books, the earlier developments of the new factory system of mass production, with its extensive employment of unskilled de-individualized labor. It looks much less plausible nowadays to those who study the modern working classes of Great Britain or the United States. But let us not forget that it still looks very like a true picture not only in the Soviet Union, or in Shanghai or Calcutta, but also over a large part of Europe. Nor can it cease to appear thus except where the greater part of the people has achieved a level of income and of strength high enough to enable its members to recover their power of personal choice.

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CONSECRATED TORY — ROBERT A. TAFT

II. The Philosophy of Negation

ROBERT ALPHONSO TAFT is a firm believer in America's economic past. He is not so sure about its future. His own political and economic philosophy, he told an interviewer in 1946, was shaped mainly by two great influences: his father, and 25 years of corporation-law practice in Cincinnati.

The genial, William Howard Taft, who became "conservative and even reactionary," as he grew older, according to Henry Pringle, his chief biographer, and the hard-bitten group of buccaneer capitalists who ruled Cincinnati early in the century seem primarily to have impressed on young Robert his mission as defender of their faith into the next generation. His approach to government and his ideas on what makes our nation prosperous and dynamic have more relation to the times in which those who shaped his philosophy lived than to his own. Like them he is skeptical of the ability of ordinary Americans to govern themselves without catastrophe, or to rely on their government without becoming its slaves. Taft has only a grudging faith in our capacity as a nation to raise our national production although we have done just that over many years. He sees the tendency toward a leveling-out of national income and the equalization of social benefits through federal programs, financed from increased taxes, as marking an end to the tradition he represents—to the "leadership" families of America and the positions of their wealthy, educated, philanthropic sons, like Robert Taft, who have felt a responsibility to look out for the less fortunate.

The early parental influence on Taft blended perfectly with the impressions made on the young Harvard law graduate by the environment of Cincinnati business circles. His first clients as he began practice on his own were his uncle and aunt, owners of the powerful Cincinnati *Times-Star* and major stockholders in the Cincinnati Street Railway System, which Uncle Charles employed young Robert to reorganize over an 11-year period. Soon Taft had corporation clients like the Gruen Watch Company, Globe-Wernike and the Cincinnati Milling Machine Company, as well as a large estate and trust business. For the 23 years thereafter until he was elected to the US Senate, almost all of Taft's practice was with wealthy persons and large corporations.

His private life has been spent in a similar atmosphere. Martha Bowers Taft, his wife for 38 years, and her brother, Lloyd Bowers, have in later years perhaps had the most effect in narrowing Taft's economic thinking. Mrs. Taft, considerably more conservative than her husband, is constantly tugging him to the Right.

These are the forces which have molded Taft's philosophy. He has no economic program of his own. In fact, the future seems to enter very little into his thinking. All his attention is on preserving the "remnants of capitalism" he sees remaining in our system and staving off "socialism" awhile longer. Naturally, therefore, he has become the leader of the cult of negation which is bent on stopping further change even if it means halting further growth.

When Robert A. Taft first came to the US Senate in 1938, even a number of Democrats sized him up as a man of brilliance and high integrity, although backward in his views in many respects. The obsession he quickly displayed for holding down taxes was viewed as natural in one who so frankly considered himself a defender of the "haves" in American society. Nor was it thought particularly surprising in view of the general Republican performance and what Grover Cleveland characterized as the "natural cohesion of wealth," to find Taft lining up on votes relating to equality of sacrifice in the early days of World War II with property owners striving to get the greatest possible returns from the war years. On issues like the OPA and rent control, he fought the Administration. He opposed the $50,000 limitation on salaries proposed by President Roosevelt as a war measure and helped override the veto of the wartime tax bill which Roosevelt described as "a tax bill for the greedy and not for the needy." But sometimes when he agreed with the Administration, Taft pursued an independent and unpolitic course resented by his GOP colleagues.

After the mid-forties, however, close associates in the Senate observed a discernible change in Taft. Ambition had entwined him and, like a powerful vine was bending and twisting his forthright character. Witnesses before the committees on domestic policies on which he sat and his fellow committee members became accustomed to hearing Taft take one position inside the committee room and seeing him vote the other way on the floor of the Senate. Arthur Vandenberg remarked about this time that Taft had the ablest mind in the Senate until he made it up, a comment appreciatively repeated all over Capitol Hill.

Senator Taft began to perfect a technique of rear-

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guard fighting against progressive measures which had been tried out by Chief Justice Taft in the Supreme Court. Having struggled against the writing of various social advances into law until it was no longer possible to prevent a majority of the Court from doing so, Chief Justice Taft on occasions such as in the case of *American Foundries* vs. *The Tri-City Trade Council*, would then move over to the majority and seek to water-down the opinion through reservations and conditions.

Senator Taft began to employ this technique with greater polish, to whittle down the so-called Full Employment Act of 1946. As a result of unusually able legislative planning by Sens. James Murray (D, Mont.) and Ralph Flanders (R, Vt.), the Employment Act was on the way to acceptance by the vast majority of the Senate, in the meaningful form in which it had originally been drafted, until Robert Taft took a hand. In the executive sessions of the Banking and Currency Committee Taft moved into opposition. Of course, he said, "some sort of government planning mechanism to study the economy" was probably desirable, but he disliked the term "full employment" and any hint of a "government guarantee" or "assurance" of the right to work or of full employment, and to the bill's ultimate reliance on "federal investment and expenditure."

Hour after hour on the Senate floor, Taft worked away at putting legislative interpretations into the record, watering-down and limiting the meaning of this historic bill. His perseverance produced such drastic changes through amendments and committee compromises that on the day of final vote, Taft was able to tell his colleagues:

> I do not think any Republican need fear voting for the bill because of any apprehension that there is a [Democratic] victory in the passage of the Full Employment Bill because there is no Full Employment Bill anymore. . . . There is no right to work provided for in the conference report.

There was, however, a provision for new economic machinery in the government. Taft now set out to render it useless. As a member of the new Joint Committee on the Economic Report, set up to work with the new President's Council of Economic Advisors, Taft was in a position of influence. Setting out to disguise his policies of negation as positive ideas, he presented his demands for tax cuts as a program to foster capitalistic incentive and sought to establish this as the measuring stick to which every other program should be tailored. He called for price increases and opposed economic controls, and presented these moves as carrying out the same objectives. He insisted over and over again that either higher taxes, lower prices or firm controls would choke off expansion and profits. The fact that successive reports of the Council of Economic Advisers showed the contrary to be true did not deflect Taft from his arguments.

By 1947 he had laid the cornerstone of his personal economic policy. Obviously feeling at home in a meeting with the Iowa Bankers' Association in Des Moines in that year, Taft explained his basic position on fiscal policy:

> In my opinion, the time has come when we should determine how heavy a tax burden is reasonably safe, and then cut our expenditures down to the probable receipts. We can no longer make up a bill against the people for everything the government and all its bureaus and friends . . . would like to do, and then raise our taxes at will to the amount requested.

Having reached this firm conclusion, Taft was not a man easily to be deflected from it. Changing circumstances, the threat of aggression and economic collapse in various parts of the world were not enough to shake Taft's belief in a mechanical, bookkeeping approach to world affairs. When President Truman called for emergency appropriations for defense and foreign aid in 1949, a balanced budget seemed more important to Taft than increased security. On September 22, 1949, he told the Senate:

> I say we are already spending as much as we can afford to spend on foreign policy. . . . As I view the taxation situation in the US, it has reached the point where we cannot increase the total tax burden, and therefore we cannot increase the total burden we are assuming today in our defense operations. If we increase our taxes, we will cripple and bog down the very economic machine . . . which makes it possible for us to carry out this program. . . .
>
> We are spending more than half our budget on defense . . . I think it is out of proportion compared with what we should properly spend on the general problem of defense.

What we should "properly spend" on defense, in Taft's view, should be determined by the funds available from current taxes for such purposes and not by the judgment of our military leaders as to what is required for national security.

Sacrificing any and every other consideration in favor of holding down taxes had become the hallmark of Taft policy. But the depth of opportunism to which he would sink to further his Presidential ambitions was not fully revealed until time for the Senate election campaign in 1950 in Ohio came near.

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In May, 1950, the Joint Economic Committee was holding long sessions, trying to reach agreement on its report to the full Congress in evaluation of President Truman's Economic Message. Taft was obviously stalling. The Committee had sat long hours in hearings, and the members had exchanged views very frankly. On the basis of those talks, Chairman Joseph O'Mahoney (Wyo.) believed that there was a chance of unanimous agreement and so moved. An embarrassed Taft told his colleagues: "You know that I agree with much of this [draft report], but I am running for the Senate this year, and I've got to be against every single thing Truman is for."

There has been little semblance of consistency or honesty in Taft's economic stands since that time. Having won Senate re-election by a landslide in 1950, Taft took on the roll of Mr. GOP in earnest, and applied the technique of confusion in all departments, including economics, in his crusade for the Presidency. Every matter of public policy, foreign and domestic, is measured for the effect that its adoption would have on taxation. Sometimes those programs which would require additional financing are opposed frankly on that ground. But more often, Taft's true objection is couched in one of the countless variations on the economy theme which he has devised over the years.

One recurrent refrain is that the increasing taxes imposed in the New Deal and Fair Deal periods have brought America so close to the brink of socialism that one more step in this direction will plunge us into the abyss with Britain. "There is some point at which high taxes must lead directly to socialism," Taft was saying in 1947, "and I think 30 percent of the national income [his estimate of the ratio in that year] is perilously close to that point." In a speech at Spokane, Washington, last month, five years later, Taft could still see the brink of socialism yawning before us, although then he was not quite so certain of its distance ahead: "In 1953, under the President's new budget . . . the total expenditure of all the government will be 38 percent [of the national income]. I do not know exactly where the danger point is, but I am sure that it is much lower than 38 percent."

Another familiar form in which Taft cloaks his argument for cutting taxes is that "the tax burden discourages the use of brains, ability and hard work which lies at the very basis of developing our productivity, our prosperity and our jobs." "Already," Taft said again only recently, "corporations pay from 52 to 70 percent of their profits in taxes. . . . Any further increase in taxes will mean a choking of all incentives to further investment in the expansion of private industry."

The facts, of course, disprove his claim. Budget receipts in 1951 were $53.5 billion, by far the highest in the nation's history, and yet business expenditures for new plants and equipment reached the astounding total of more than $23 billion, only slightly less than the total of such investment for the entire four years of 1941-44 during the period of the World War II buildup. Business profits have also risen sensationally in spite of taxes. While the percentage of national income going into taxes increased from 22 percent in 1949 to 27 percent in 1951 (Dept. of Commerce figures), corporate profits before taxes swelled from $28.3 billion, in 1949, to an estimated $44.8 billion in 1951. And even after taxes corporate profits amounted to $18.1 billion last year, it is estimated, as compared with $10.8 billion in the peak profit year of World War II.

In the immediate emergency, American capitalism has prospered, not starved, as Taft predicted and continues to predict. But Taft is right in saying that there are limits beyond which a democracy cannot tax and endure. Even British Labour Party economist Colin Clark estimates that taxation in excess of 25 percent of the national income has a harmful inflationary effect. This principle is less true in the US, with its comparatively progressive tax system, than elsewhere, but Taft does have a point. It must be borne in mind, however, that the reason for our present high taxes is military expansion not added social costs and that the Administration's arms goals are designed to match, division for division and wing for wing, the advantage in armed power which the Soviets now possess. When we equal their strength, gun for gun, we can shrink the weight of the burden by increasing our volume of production, and by sharing the burden through a mutual-security arrangement with our allies. The latter policy would in the future call for the US to cover only two percent of the cost of any additional 10-percent buildup that might be required to keep pace.

The answer to the problem posed by Taft is not to pretend, as he does, that Russia has no guns or is not pointing them at us, but to deal with it through a dynamic not a static approach. If the US has an expansionist economy and the help of her allies, the burden of armament can be carried without great strain. However, if we follow Taft's policies which would freeze the level of our production, thereby inviting an even lower level, and shift the whole burden of resistance to the Soviets to our shoulders by letting our allies down, we will sink under the load. The answers Taft provides would simply intensify the genuine problem he raises to a much more serious level.

This is the second of five articles on the personality and prospects of Robert A. Taft.

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NEIGHBOR IN THE WHITE HOUSE

by Richard L. Strout

NO OTHER American President has had such violent ups and downs of public esteem as Harry Truman. He came in on a wave of sympathy in 1945 which had all but evaporated by the midterm Republican election victory of 1946; then he fought his way back to vindication in the astonishing race of 1948 and now he has plummeted down again.

One reason, of course, is the difficulty of the problems he faces and the sacrifices entailed on the people who traditionally take out their distress by kicking around the most prominent politician available. But more important perhaps is Truman's difficulty of projecting himself and his ideas over to the public by conventional means. Truman's record on foreign affairs is, to this writer's view anyway, pretty good—perhaps excellent; on domestic issues he has stuck to the liberal New Deal that kept Roosevelt at a high level of public favor. But Roosevelt could go to the microphone and make the people believe in him and thrill with him. Truman comes to the same microphone with a good speech—written and rewritten 20 times—and when he is half way through the American family is dozing.

Yet there is another Truman behind the flat, unimaginative radio voice. When he cuts loose from a prepared speech and talks in the vernacular with salty, earthy phrases he can hold any audience. Truman constrained and Truman spontaneous are two different persons, hardly on speaking terms. Now a device has been thought up, with Truman's blessing, that bridges the gap between President and public beyond anything I can remember in American history. A reporter has been turned loose amidst Truman's own personal, intimate diaries, letters and memorabilia to give excerpts to the public, connected by interviews with Truman himself.

MR. PRESIDENT, by William Hillman (Farrar, Straus and Young; $5).

Once you have stopped gasping over some of the excerpts and even overcome a momentary alarm at the intimacies about "Bess" and "Our Baby" you find a character emerging whom it is terribly difficult to dislike.

In the early hours of that morning when Truman first decided to run for the Senate, when the die was cast and it was time to go to bed, Truman didn't go to bed. He sat down in a reverie and wrote a long retrospective sketch of his life and aims. After an even greater crisis of his life he wrote down the story of his succession to office in 1945, beginning: "At 3:35 I was presiding over the Senate," and coming to its climax in the affectingly simple and yet matter-of-fact description of his arrival at the White House: "Mrs. Roosevelt put her arm around my shoulder and said 'The President is dead.' That was the first inkling I had of the seriousness of the situation. I then asked them what I could do, and she said, 'What can we do for you?' . . . "

The most spectacular memorandum in the Hillman book is the stinging Truman reprimand to Secretary of State Byrnes, written in longhand and read direct, for ignoring and by-passing him at the Moscow conference. "I received no communication from you directly while you were in Moscow. . . . I was completely in the dark on the whole conference until I requested you to come to the *Williamsburg* and inform me. The communique was released before I ever saw it."

Thus the little man who succeeded Roosevelt was refusing to be a puppet.

The curious thing is that the most interesting figure emerging from this grab-bag of comments about Roosevelt, Churchill, Byrnes, Stalin and others, is Truman himself, a man of limited formal education, of no soaring imagination or profundity—a figure lacking brilliant luster or exceptional philosophy. The drama is the juxtaposition of an average man with terrible problems. The symbolic subtitle of the new book might be "Mister Smith versus Annihilation."

Truman is the author of the historic Truman Doctrine; he is also the first President to insult a music critic by letter because he snooted "Our Baby." The study is full of such contrasts. Truman dearly loves to debate which are the 10 greatest generals of history, interlarded with casual comments like, "Now take Darius the Great of Persia. . . . " He is also the Chief Executive who watches baseball games on the park behind the White House through field glasses, and recorded sadly in his diary how he tried to go out to see a game in person, only to break it up. Truman has written more letters than any other President. He finds them a means of communicating with the outside world through the invisible, aggravating curtain of High Priesthood that surrounds him. He keeps trying to slap this curtain away like a man pestered with a fly.

Intimate records like this put you in the chair beside the President, when not in his lap: "Bess and Margaret

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went to Missouri. . . . I sure hated to see them go. Came back and read the papers, some history and then wrote this. It is hot and humid and lonely. . . . "

Again, "I'm always so lonesome when the family leaves. I have no one to raise a fuss over my neckties and my haircuts, my shoes and my clothes generally. I usually put on a terrible tie which not even Bob Hannegan or Ed McKim would wear, just to get a loud protest from Bess and Margie. When they are gone, I have to put on the right ones and it's no fun. . . . "

"Bess and I are eating supper," he jots down at 7 p.m., June 28, 1949, even as they sit on the south porch of the White House. He describes the fountain playing below, the baseball game across the fence, and the Jefferson Memorial beyond. He continues:

"A robin hops around looking for worms, finds one and pulls with all his might to unearth him. A mocking bird imitates robins, jays, crows, hawks—but has no individual note of his own. A lot of people like that."

Truman having supper with Bess is one thing, but the unfortunate man from Missouri having a State Dinner all by himself is another. He records it with good-humored poignancy in a passage that might have come out of *Innocents Abroad*:

> Had dinner by myself tonight. Worked in the Lee House until dinner time. A butler came in very formally and said "Mr. President, dinner is served." I walk into the dining room of the Blair House. Barnett in tails and white tie pulls out my chair, pushes me up to the table. John in tails and white tie brings me a fruit cup, Barnett takes away the empty cup. John brings me a plate. Barnett brings me a tenderloin. John brings me asparagus, Barnett brings me carrots and beets. I have to eat alone and in silence in a candlelit room.

There is more to it. After the meat—

> John comes in with a napkin and silver crumb tray—there are no crumbs but John has to brush them off the table anyway. Barnett brings me a plate with a finger bowl and doily on it. . . . Barnett brings me a chocolate custard. John brings me a demitasse (at home a little cup of coffee—about two good gulps) and my dinner is over. I take a hand bath in the finger bowl and go back to work. What a life!

Is there any other President who could have written that passage? Would Roosevelt; could Bob Taft?

As human a document as this is bound to cause a reappraisal of the man in the White House, particularly when it is coupled with revealing comments on foreign and domestic matters. If Truman had his way he would rewrite the Constitution to do away with all two-thirds majority requirements. He would limit Representatives and Senators to 12-years service. He thinks the Senate is encroaching on the executive power. He says you can't get good men to take office when they are "abused publicly by irresponsible Senators who hide behind their immunity." There are hints about his plans after the Presidency—all different. One is an excerpt from Lucullus (57 BC) copied in the President's own hand: "Better . . . had it been for Cicero, after Cataline's regency, to have retired and grown old and for Scipio, after his Numantine and Carthaginian conquests, to have sat down contented."

The reader cannot escape mentally balancing up Truman's virtues and defects, almost page by page, with a puzzled estimate of his historical stature. Here is a man friendly, gregarious, tenacious, humble and uncomplicated as a fox terrier. He will never give up no matter what the odds, and he is unlikely to yield to dismay.

Truman's weakness is, in part, his limited range of interest. He distrusts most intellectuals on sight and carries on with a vastly narrower circle of friends and advisers than Roosevelt. Truman is more of a prisoner than FDR in his wheel-chair. It is inconceivable that Roosevelt—with Mrs. Roosevelt scouting the country for him—could have so misjudged the importance of the corruption issue or waited so long to do something about it. The cracker-barrel philosophy of Truman's notes has common sense, but it is not very profound and is often banal. Roosevelt's broader understanding and personal charm helped him to hold together the coalition with which every successful President must juggle; the Bourbon Dixiecrats stayed with him even in spite of Mrs. Roosevelt. Truman lacks some of this art, however worthy the object of his quarrel with the South. Furthermore there is in him something scarcely revealed in these friendly excerpts, a mood of partisan tit-for-tat that is really vindictiveness. He cannot abide critics near him and ostracized men like Francis Biddle, William Fulbright and Paul Douglas.

As against this, Truman's greatest strength is in his passionate belief in democracy. You can sense what Truman lacks in these diaries, but there is always the positive faith in the people. His thick lenses, the glaring lights and something in his nature make him an indifferent speaker through the microphone but let him get out to the people and he can make his ideals and aspirations felt. He was raised on *Heroes of History*, *Abbot's Lives*, and his mother's Bible, and has modeled his approach on them. This is the attractive figure who recorded his emotions at awarding posthumous Korean Medals of Honor in his private diary:

"Hope I will not have to do that again. I am a damned sentimentalist and I could hardly hold my voice steady. . . . I choked up. . . . What an old fool I am!"

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THERE IS NO TRIFLING

CONFUCIUS: THE GREAT DIGEST AND THE UNWOBBLING PIVOT, Translation by Ezra Pound (New Directions; $3.50).

TO CHINESE SCHOLARS the accuracy of Pound's translation will be of first importance, and about this I am not qualified to hold any opinion, for to me the Chinese text interleaved with the English has only the potency of the unknown. For such as myself (typical, unfortunately, of my generation) these beautiful ideograms, reproduced from the stone tablets formerly set up by the great Emperors and renewed from time to time over a period of nearly two thousand years, merely indicate a relatively unexplored field of human thought. Ezra Pound sees no reason why the study of philosophy in our universities should be confined to the Greeks and their European successors; and when a poet of major status thus points the way to a body of philosophy or poetry that be believes to have relevance to his own period—as did the Elizabethan translators of the Classics, or Yeats with the Upanishads the issue is of more than academic interest. Mr. Pound's work on Confucius (along with Arthur Waley's great contribution to Chinese studies) has introduced a new element into the literary context of our time. As with Chapman's Homer or Dryden's Virgil, Pound's Confucius is to be read as much in relation to its translator as to its original author: it is a twentieth-century reading of Confucius—a contemporary work to be considered not in the context of ancient China but along with Pound's *Cantos*, the writings of Eliot and Yeats, and in the light of current social theories.

History, as Pound sees it, is a natural and not a supernatural phenomenon. This historical sense of Pound's may not have revealed to him an eternal truth. But the question is not whether or not Confucianism contains the whole of truth for all time, but its particular relevance in our particular society. It seems to me that in this respect Pound has put his finger on the vital spot.

Not that Confucianism in any way resembles the ideologies current in either the American or the Russian halves of the modern world. Perhaps societies have always been more remarkable by reason of the anti-bodies that they produce, in resistance to or revolt against current modes of thought, than in their majority cultures. Majorities most always consist of the most unreflecting, and are likely to be wrong; whereas the diagnosis of an intelligent critic is seldom wholly wrong. So with Pound—the relevance of Confucius to contemporary democracy is not one of affinity, but rather, perhaps, one of need. "Government is rooted in man, it is based on man, and one reaches man through oneself. . ." This social philosphy, based like contemporary science on the natural, is the diametrical opposite both of doctrinaire Marxism and empirical behaviorism. It embodies an organic, not a mechanistic view of nature.

Society, according to Confucius, grows from within outwards; while (explicitly in Marxist theory, and implicitly in a society whose instruments are the advertisement, the radio and the television-set) the modern world aims at conditioning human behaviour from without inwards. No one (unless the psychotherapists who have to deal with the casualties) seems seriously to have considered the dangers of this wholesale conditioning of human mental reflexes. Confucius, on the contrary, begins with a long look at what man is: the virtuous man "looks straight into his own heart at the things wherewith there is no trifling." This truth of the deepest nature of man is the "unwobbling pivot" upon which the affairs of families, societies, and states ultimately depend. A virtuous man will have right family relationships; and "one human family can humanize a whole state; one courteous family can light a whole state into courtesy." It is a form of humanism, at the same time, with strong affinities to certain kinds of European and American humanism. Such a society is stable because it rests upon the real nature of man.

The secular behaviorism upon which our own society is (implicitly) more and more based is itself the successor and counterpart of the heiratic forms of Christianity for which, also, authority is external to man. There has always been a minority who appealed to the Gospels, which are in this respect Confucian rather than Roman, deriving order from within. On this truth, great philosophies would seem to be agreed, while lovers of power have at all times dissented. Coleridge's theory of the imagination, for example, envisages an inborn nature such as Confucius saw it. This inborn nature is a mystery; it may be a divine mystery, the God within as Blake and Coleridge both affirmed; but the Confucian social ethics deliberately confines itself to the human, drives no wedge between the spiritual and the material, since both are in man.

Since those things "with which there is no trifling" are innate, true education can never be a process of indoctrination; it can only be a bringing to light of what is already implanted in man.

> What heaven has disposed and sealed is called the inborn nature. The realisation of this nature is called the process. The clarification of this process (the understanding or making intelligible of this process) is called education.

In comparing the opposed views, of forms of thought and behavior imposed from without inwards, or unfolded from within outwards, we must not be misled by the excellence or otherwise of the ethics or doctrines incalculated. What is important is a habit of mind, an orientation towards the real.

> The great learning takes root in clarifying the way wherein the intelligence

(*Continued on page 22*)

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THE MEANING OF MUSIC

A COMPOSER'S WORLD, by Paul Hindemith (Harvard University Press; $3.75).

DURING THE PAST few years, composers have shown a growing desire to verbalize their musical ideas. Most of them cannot write good prose, and should not be expected to try. Such efforts as Schönberg's *Style and Idea* are too tiresome to be commendable. But Paul Hindemith has written a book which seems unique. It is a complicated study of a highly technical situation—the relation of a composer to his art. Yet it is so free of technical jargon and presented in such a gratifying literary style that it can be read with pleasure by anyone who is interested in the subject. The content of the book is serious and frequently grave; the author's brilliant, logical method is constantly in evidence. But the idiom is generally lively and charming—a minimum of esoteric talk.

The book begins with a discussion of the meaning of music. This subject has been relatively taboo for a long time. While Beethoven was alive, music was generally thought to have some exaggerated emotional subject matter. Berlioz seemed to think that music could represent physical objects and literary or historical events. This notion had a great vogue during the Romantic era, as everybody knows, and has not completely disappeared yet. Most modern composers are still embarrassed by the more grandiose aspects of romanticism. They like to talk about technique and style—aspects of music that are subject to more or less objective evaluation—but they avoid discussion of musical content.

Most all will agree, as Hindemith does, that music has a strong sensual appeal, and that it can evoke intimate emotional response. Although some composers have minimized the importance of this response, observation of common experience shows that both exist. But music seems to have an even more profound content which can be apprehended whether the sounds are superficially attractive or not.

Hindemith feels that the transcendental values of music are moral, that "either we consciously allow music to impress us with its ethic power, or we transform it into moral strength." The discussion of any art, particularly an abstract one, as a moral agent, is necessarily complicated and a little vague. Plato's observations on the subject are neither informative nor amusing, and since his time too many brilliant philosophers have written unconvincingly on the same theme. Hindemith's detailed arguments, which are the product of so much experience and musical insight, are convincing.

Since music is not compounded of symbols which have a semantic meaning, it is hard to determine the causes of the sensual, emotional and moral responses that it tends to stimulate. Hindemith has arrived at Wordsworth's belief that memory is the important factor in aesthetic communication. Formal structure is clear because it relates to idealized, remembered structure. Content is clear because it is concerned with the evocation of remembered emotion. Memory patterns must, therefore, provide the basis for musical understanding.

A composer who wishes to communicate and who believes that memory is his strongest ally is bound to take a special view of tradition. He must be intimately familiar with the music of his culture in order to assimilate those methods which have been proven successful into his own craft, hoping thereby to arrive at that style which Hindemith calls "the crown and flower of technique." Such a composer will take a dim view of the progressive approach to music history. His studies will show a few superb accomplishments, often separated by dull centuries. He will want to identify himself with what he feels to be the best work of his art.

The notion that music has undergone a progressive evolution has a certain naive charm, but it can be dangerous. Composers of this persuasion frequently feel that they have to carry the torch whether they want to or not. With history pushing and some kind of mystical urge pulling them, they frequently feel compelled to sacrifice their own tastes in the interests of progress. Schönberg put it only too tiresomely when he wrote in *Style and Idea*

> I was not destined to continue in the manner of *Transfigured Night* or *Gurrelieder* . . . The Supreme Commander had ordered me on a higher road.
>
> But a longing to return to the older style was always vigorous in me; and from time to time, I had to yield to that urge.

It is obviously presumptuous of a composer to think of himself as a pawn of destiny, and on that account, to avoid a style which he finds attractive. Hindemith is refreshingly intolerant of this attitude. Unfortunately, his prejudice has blinded him to the merits of contemporary experimental music. He has kind words for both Monteverdi and Beethoven, who were certainly radical enough in their times. I suspect that Hindemith really has a deep distrust for all innovators, dead or alive. It would be a pleasure to see him give the old ones the same high-handed treatment he gives the moderns.

Hindemith believes that composing should not be taught as a profession unless obviously superior talent warrants specialized training. He suspects that the desire to write is more likely to be rooted in megalomania than sincerity, and that it should be discouraged unless, after a thorough training in musicianship, the student shows an unexpected talent for writing. Hindemith thinks that composers should master instrumental technique, and be able to perform their own work.

He has apparently not observed the fact that creative talent frequently appears where it is most to be expected—among people who are primarily interested in writing, for whatever reason. Ravel, who never played a violin in his life, wrote gratifying bravura music for that instrument. Roy Harris, William Schuman and Peter Mennin, all of them good orchestrators, have distinguished three generations of American writing; and none of them plays any instrument well.

My own reservations about the book are not serious. The book is methodical and thorough, essentially positive, and surprisingly objective. Some of Hindemith's personal views will irritate

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his colleagues, who are likely to be quarrelsome about minor details. The important thing about the book is that it is a group statement. Whether they like it or not, it represents the beliefs of all those composers who, bounded on the right by Hindemith and on the left by Stravinsky, have rejected the solaces of both reaction and radicalism.

ROBERT EVETT

Mr. Evett, composer and critic, is contributing editor in music for NR; lives in New York.

THE LEAGUE'S PROPHECY

A HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, by F. P. Walters, 2 volumes (Oxford; $11.50).

STRANGE IT SEEMS, in this day of world bafflement, when books are written on almost every conceivable subject, that up to now none has appeared to give the accounting of how mankind, revolting from the horrors of World War I, sought to replace the anarchy of irresponsible national sovereignities with an ordered world society built around a League of Nations. After the second World War, the need for such a book was constantly felt by all—especially the architects of the new United Nations. But no such history existed; solid accounts had been written up to the early thirties, but then a curtain of silence, cynicism, and "failure" fell upon the League.

Now, however, comes this complete history, from the first day to the last, written by perhaps the man best placed in the world to do it. Frank Walters served successively as secretary to Lord Robert Cecil when the Covenant was drafted at Paris in 1919; as Personal Assistant to the first Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, for all of his successful thirteen years at Geneva; and as Deputy Secretary-General for the tragic seven final years. He returned to Geneva after World War II, where for four more years, with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation and the United Nations, he was privileged to relive and reassess that critical quarter century.

Mr. Walters writes not as a professional historian but rather as a participant, who lived and suffered all the vicissitudes from the high hopes of the twenties to the despair of the thirties. His approach is best shown in his own opening words:

> The League was from the first something more than the moral and political beliefs which the Covenant professed; something more, also, than the great political and legal institutions which the Covenant established. Its purposes and its organs were combined into a living whole by the creative effort of human will. As a living thing it was born; it experienced growth, success, and power; it inspired love and hatred; it met with failure and defeat. . . . It was the first effective move towards the organization of a world-wide political and social order, in which the interests of humanity could be seen and served across the barriers of national tradition, racial difference, or geographical separation. . . . It involved a forward leap of unprecedented extent and speed.

In these pages we see many of the disastrous crises which led to World War II: Manchuria, Ethiopia, the Rhineland, and others. But we also see the origin of great movements which may be discussed long after these spectacular events have faded from memory; technical assistance in China a quarter century before the present bold, "new" program; nutrition studies which laid the basis for the Food and Agriculture Organization; reconstruction loans which set precedents for those of today; social studies which are now leading into the vital question of land reform; new methods now enormously expanded for handling backward or dependent areas. The League truly led governments and peoples to the threshold of a new level of world-wide political and social cooperation; the United Nations has revivified practically every one of its activities and vastly enlarged this first beachhead in the world area.

This book deserves wide reading, especially in the United States. It illuminates a period of history which we have curiously sought to avoid; it shows that we, too, as a nation, can make mistakes; it provides evidence for President Truman's statement that "if we had lived up to our international responsibilities as a nation in the 1920's, if we had joined the League of Nations, much of the tragedy and suffering of our generation might well have been avoided." The League's story is interesting and often dramatic; it is told in these pages with warmth and vitality; it allows us to see in miniature movements which today have become too big for easy comprehension. But over and above all this, it shows that the world is really on the march forward, and that mankind, despite all the sensational crises of the day, is laying deep foundations for a better world order.

ARTHUR SWEETSER

Mr. Sweetser, former official of The League, directs the UN Washington Information Center.

COUNTERVAILING POWER

AMERICAN CAPITALISM, by John Kenneth Galbraith (Houghton Mifflin; $3).

THIS PUNGENT, aphoristic and highly readable essay in social criticism, written for the reasonably diligent layman, will according to the author "be almost equally unpalatable to liberals and conservatives. This is often the case with reality."

The title itself is a challenge. In a large portion of the ideological universe today capitalism implies much:—periodic slumps, acrimonious controversies between capital and labor, monopoloid corporate and financial gigantism, powerful lobbies dominating local and national channels of information and legislation, colonialism, imperialism, and other innate authoritarian tendencies.

The ideological tribute paid to such Marxian caricatures of American capitalism is heavy. Even the top echelons of American business, instead of boldly stating as does Dr. Galbraith that ours is a system of American capitalism, avail themselves of a number of euphemisms such as "free enterprise, individual initiative, free competition or the free market." But they hasten in virtually the same breath to do obeisance to the currently approved business doctrine that in the precise measurements of Congressman Wolcott holds that "the United States is now within eight percent of socialism."

The classical economist and the businessman are both enamoured of the competitive model, the former because it provides a neat solution for the prob-

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lem of efficient allocation of resources and rewards, but

> for the businessman and the political philosopher, by contrast, the appeal of the competitive model was its solution of the problem of power. That is still the basis of its hold on the American conservative. Indeed, for most Americans free competition, so called, has for long been a political rather than an economic concept.

Though no one dares admit power over other men's lives and incomes, everyone enjoys its exercise. Power determines one's prestige; and it is alarming only when others misuse it, especially the government. After a series of brilliant chapters outlining what has happened to competition, Dr. Galbraith comes to the heart of his analysis: "with the widespread disappearance of competition in its classical form . . . [it was assumed] all effective restraints on private power disappeared."

Indeed this conclusion is all but inevitable if no search is made for some other regulatory mechanism in the economy.

> . . . restraints on private power did appear to replace competition. They were nurtured by the same process of concentration which impaired or destroyed competition. But they appeared not on the same side of the market but on the opposite side, not with competitors but with customers or suppliers. It will be convenient to have a name for this counterpart of competition and I shall call it *countervailing power*. . . .
>
> Thus in the ultimate sense it was the power of the steel industry, not the organizing abilities of John L. Lewis and Philip Murray, that brought the United Workers into being. . . .
>
> In precise parallel with the labor market . . . has been the spectacular rise of the food chains, the variety chains, the mail order houses . . . the department store chains, and the cooperative buying organizations. . . .
>
> The support of countervailing power has become in the last two decades the major peacetime function of the federal government. . . . The growth of countervailing power strengthens the capacity for autonomous self-regulation and thereby lessens the amount of over-all government control or planning that is required or sought.

What is to prevent the original market power (the steel companies) from uniting with the agencies of countervailing power (the steel unions) and combining against the consumer? Fortunately as a general rule private profit brings enough excess capacity to afford consumers a buyers' market. But in times of war, inflation and excess demand create a sellers' market. Then the position of American capitalism becomes exceedingly vulnerable; witness the wholesale centralization of power in government most vociferously placed there by conservatives, when in the autumn of 1950 this country undertook a secondary military operation in a country thousands of miles away.

Dr. Galbraith's analysis will, as he states, surely displease some conservatives and some liberals. He has unfrocked the propaganda priests of business and exposed their pretended creeds in their intellectual nakedness. He suggests building a monument to the graduated income tax. He unveils the power groups who inveigh against government intervention which countervails their private restrictions on competition at the same time he persistently advocates measures regimenting consumers (tariffs), small business (fair trade acts) and labor.

Avid advocates of anti-trust law enforcement will not like Galbraith's acceptance of bigness not only as inevitable but (when offset by countervailing power) even as wholesome. Nor will they at first thought be disposed to agree that anti-trust activities be removed from the distributive field. In Galbraith's analysis, the chain store, far from being an octopoid Goliath battening on unwary small manufacturers and local retailers, becomes a Galahad doing brave countervailing battle for consumers against Original Power of the manufacturing industries. Though maligned and prosecuted for doing such things as selling at a loss over areas as large as New England in order to police or pick up uncooperative independents, the nation-wide distributive chains are under the skin veritable twin institutions to the Rochdale consumer cooperatives beloved by workers abroad.

THEODORE KREPS

Dr. Kreps is professor of economics at Stanford University; he formerly directed Congress' Joint Economic Committee.

IN RESPECT OF TRUTH

HISTORY AND HUMAN RELATIONS, by Herbert Butterfield (Macmillan; $3.50).

A VOICE crying in the wilderness is, I believe, a just description of Dr. Butterfield's new book. The decision was close; here is obviously a cry, but there was a moment when the applicable quotation seemed to be "an infant crying for the light and with no language but a cry," but that was before the reader had proceeded to the end of the volume. The distinguished professor of modern history at Cambridge University is a disturbed and perplexed man, but not as completely distracted as certain of his early chapters might lead one to believe. As for his perturbation, any historian who is not disturbed and perplexed in these times must be an imbecile.

Herbert Butterfield can give his whole-hearted approval only to what he calls the technical and what many others call the rigidly academic historian; yet at the end he notes without prejudice that Acton and Creighton, with the later concurrence of Mommsen, decided that the greatest historian the world ever produced was Macaulay. Note well, Butterfield does not concur, he merely reports the decision; but he does not file a violent dissent. Clearly the man believe that history is, or should be made a science; yet respect for truth compels him, with however much chagrin, to report that on very high levels it is, in fact, an art.

It is not needless to say that this respect for truth is Butterfield's prime claim to consideration; it is needful to say it, for it is one of those truisms that are always being mouthed, but rarely accepted. The genuine, white-hot passion for truth, exact truth, undiluted truth, is as rare as first-rate historians, which is to say very rare indeed.

Nevertheless, in the early part of this book it gets the author into a complication that is likely to afford great joy to the unregenerate. For Butterfield is also committed to the Christian point of view, specifically the canon that we are all sinners alike. Pursuant to that commitment he argues in his chapter on "Moral Judgments in History"

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that the historian has no right to make any, seeing that he, too, is a sinner—the most terrific moral judgment that it is possible to make.

In this book, indeed, the author more than once seems to skirt the very verge of intellectual nihilism—seems to, for closely attentive reading shows that he is further back from the verge than a superficial glance indicates. When he argues, for example, that with reference to Pope Alexander VI, "Creighton could not know enough to exonerate," but, on the other hand neither "did Acton know enough to condemn the man himself," he seems to argue that the historian has no right to say anything about one of the most startling figures in human annals. Well, if it says nothing, why read history? Above all, why undertake the immense labor of writing it?

Of course Butterfield condemns the historian to silence on moral qualities only. On everything else he is free to speak, must speak at length. But what is there about Alexander Borgia that is worth mentioning except his moral quality? Dozens of sovereigns have equalled or surpassed him in statecraft and certainly he made no contribution to theology. Either he excelled in wickedness or he excelled in nothing.

No Cambridge don would be foolish enough to leave a thesis in any such anomalous position and this one partially resolves the dissonance in his closing essay, "History as a Branch of Literature." Here he recognizes a division of labor between men who assemble the materials and men who work them into beautiful and satisfying patterns. The former he calls the true historians, while the latter are literary craftsmen working with history. But that leaves the scientist a mere hod-carrier for the artist, who is the master mason. Discontented with that, Butterfield argues that the scientist should also be an artist with words—a solution unsatisfactory to those who share Keats' view that beauty is in itself something of a moral value judgment.

The book, then, cannot be adjudged an authoritative deliverance in the field of history and human relations, which is a field of no inconsiderable area. But it is a strong plea for the objective approach, all the more effective because it is made with wit and grace, by an artist with words. And when Dr. Butterfield surveys the delinquencies of bad historians he is not merely a moralist; he is the sternest of Puritans.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

Mr. Johnson, social historian, author and critic, lives in Baltimore.

STILL TALKING

QUIET, PLEASE, by James Branch Cabell (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3).

THE PROTAGONIST of Mr. Cabell's fifty-first book is his own stream of consciousness at the age of seventy-two. His antagonist is "sense-slackening Time" or "gelded and gelding Time, that unamorous jealous censor," who keeps interjecting, "Quiet, please." To say that such a collection of amiable slight informal essays, held thus loosely together by thematic counter-point and refrain, "comes very close to being an autobiography," is to fall just short of what in Cabellese might be called perpetrating a pardonable tarradiddle.

The twelve chapters of *Quiet, Please* fall into three groups of four each. The first quartet establishes the complexity of Mr. Cabell's attitude toward Time. The death of his first wife, in 1948, was one of Time's blows after which "he preferred not to go on living," but his second marriage in 1950 was one of Time's compensations that prepared him "to meet the future with civility." He is by turns rueful, derisive, and relieved at Time's arbitrary inflation and deflation of his stock as a writer. He is frank in admitting that Time has robbed him of much of the pleasure he once took in such masters as Scott and Shakespeare and that he is now in his second childhood so far as goes the complacent unclarity of his Episcopalianism. Yet Time has left him with much to be thankful for, including alcohol and his own prose; and, even in the age of TV, literature cannot become obsolete, since it is still the most effective device for the obsolescent to kill Time, as is proved by grandmothers in Florida.

Mr. Cabell's second quartet of chapters is an exposition of his intentions in *The Nightmare Has Triplets*, his trilogy composed of *Smirt*, *Smith*, and *Smire*. There, in a "naturalistic" slice of his own dream life, he got the better of Time—and of Space also. Its sexual data lead him to his final sequence of chapters, where he divulges, with more explicitness than elsewhere, the resemblance of his own youth to Jurgen's, both in the matter of Dorothy la Désirée and the not-matters of all her immediate successors. Time's dealing with some of them, it appears, has been more drolly iconcolastic than is Mr. Cabell's treatment of the Decalogue as he approaches his moving coda on the miracle of being young.

JOE LEE DAVIS

Dr. Davis is professor of modern literature at the University of Michigan.

FORTY YEARS AS EDITOR

SO IT SEEMED, by William L. Chenery (Harcourt, Brace; $4).

WILLIAM L. CHENERY was a newspaper and magazine editor for four decades, until he retired a year or two ago. The first fifteen years of his adult life he was a newspaperman on a half dozen papers in Chicago, Denver and New York, most of which were shot out from under him. Then he was editor of *Collier's Weekly* for eighteen years, and publisher for seven more.

Forty years does not seem very long; yet when Chenery got his first job, the social impact of the automobile was just beginning, most of the growth of the motion picture was still to come, radio in the home was ten years away, and television nearly forty. The great era of the muck-raking magazine was just coming to an end, an era in which in some ways the editors as a group showed more courage than they have ever done since. In 1914, he was forced out as editor of the *Rocky Mountain News* in Denver because his liberalism, which today seems fairly tepid in retrospect, was too much for the prevailing opinion in Denver; one of the charges against him was that he had written an editorial deploring the Ludlow massacre, in which thirteen wives and children of striking coal miners were burned alive or suffocated, in tents set on fire by the Colorado National Guard (who also shot to death seven of the miners and a boy).

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Chenery's career went on to embrace two world wars, the political and economic emancipation of women, the greatest of all booms followed by the greatest of all depressions, the coming of the atomic age and the mounting tensions of the Cold War. He retired at a time when television and other factors were frightening all mass-circulation periodicals more and more into "pictorial journalism" and away from what the trade calls the "text book"—the magazine whose main reliance is the written word.

If Chenery is impressed by the profound changes of his four decades, he indicates it only casually. His autobiography is a sober, externalized report of what he saw and did. Some of the things he leaves out or skims over are more interesting, to me, at least, than what he includes. I should have liked to see much more about the problem of the big-circulation magazine which tries to combine simultaneously some degree of social usefulness, enough entertainment to get and hold a big audience, and large profits based on a heavy volume of advertising. If he feels any nostalgia for the old days when you could sell a magazine with fewer sideshow attractions than at present, he gives no hint of it. His personal creed is one with which few can quarrel.

"Nobody could reasonably deny," he says in an introduction, "that throughout the world the tendency for two hundred years has been to give more and more opportunity to every individual to develop whatever qualities he has. Similarly, I am sure that despite the opposition of the Communists, Nazis and others who believe that men are not fit to be free, liberty will not for long be taken from men who desire it. . . . I think the longing for justice, mercy, truth, compassion, freedom, and the right to develop and to exercise the educable qualities with which men and women are endowed, will prevail against that older and more barbarous view that men are sheep to be herded by the powerful few for the advantage and satisfaction of the leaders of the flock." One can only hope that he is right.

BRUCE BLIVEN

STILL WORLDS APART

I LED THREE LIVES, by Herbert Philbrick (*McGraw-Hill*; $3.50).

HERBERT PHILBRICK was an angry young man with a flair for leadership. His radicalism led him to join a Communist front. His resentment against being used there led him to join the Communist Party—as a counterspy.

The Communist Party was an accepted movement when Philbrick joined; patriotic in outward appearance, broad in the appeals it aimed at young citizens. By the time Philbrick exposed it, before Judge Medina, the CP had become a hated and ingrown conspiracy, ridden with suspicion and directed toward espionage. Philbrick demonstrates, however, that the CP chose to be an underground conspiracy long before it was attacked, and that it secretly preached the necessity for violent revolution while publicly disowning any such beliefs.

Philbrick has written a plausible sketch of the CP in action. He is no political scientist, but he is a decent and mature man. He is free of the Messianism of Whitaker Chambers, the hysteria of Elizabeth Bentley, the sensationalism of Louis Budenz. He provides no faggots for the witch burners. Denouncing McCarthyism and insisting that "it takes experts to fight experts," he opposes outlawing the Communist Party.

His book ends with a clear statement of the contrasting approaches of the liberals and Communists to prove that "they are worlds apart." His purpose in this book is to "increase understanding" of Communism without spreading "more hatred and fear."

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

(*Continued from page 17*)

increases through the process of looking straight into one's own heart and acting on the results; it is rooted in watching with affection the way people grow.

You cannot, in fact, teach people what they do not already know—you can only help them to know that they know it.

However wrong-headedly and illogically Pound may have sought to identify this organic philosophy of social order with Mussolini's regime, we should not therefore overlook the fact that the main elements of that philosophy are a penetrating and accurate criticism of the worst heresies of our own society. Pound by his translations and critical prefaces has done more perhaps than any living man of letters to create a context of ideas in which poets have been working for some thirty years. Because of Pound that context of contemporary poetry is now world-wide in a sense that it has never been hitherto. It is in relation to this creation of an intellectual framework for our time that his *Confucius* should be considered, and is likely to be remembered.

KATHLEEN RAINE

Miss Raine, author of five volumes of poetry and a book on Blake, lives in London.

ON THE AIR

WHEN THIS WRITER started doing his pieces for the *New Republic* five years ago, the departmental title was simply "Radio." That's all there was worth discussing in my field. Television was still a sport for the few, watched regularly only by members of the fledgling industry or those of us who worked on the trade press. To the public at large, TV was a gadget for the future. It would be two or three years before the opening of new TV stations, the spread of enough receivers would justify alteration of this columnar rubric to the more comprehensive "On the Air."

Now I go back where I came from. Radio, as hinted here recently, is dead only as far as the TV-awed broadcasters are concerned. Potential listeners still outnumber possible viewers by seven to one—as of the first of the year, there were 105 million radio receivers in the country, only 15 million television sets. The number of television stations in the United States has grown in the last half decade from 8 to 108; but in the same period, radio broadcast outlets (including those on the "standard," amplitude modulation, band, as well as FM) increased in number from 1,520 to 3,058. It is only qualitatively, and principally on the network level, that radio has really deteriorated.

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On the coast-to-coast chains, all of the money, pride, promotion and exploitation is being poured daily by the tubful into TV. Some old radio programs that have taken on the status of classics are still on the air and are just as good now as they ever were. Among "public service" shows one thinks offhand of NBC's *Eternal Light* and CBS' *Invitation to Learning*. There is only one commercially sponsored dramatic program in the big league; that's *Theatre Guild on the Air*, which is also holding its own (NBC, Sundays, 8:30-9:30 p.m.). The *Guild* remains a solid hour of adult theatre, written by mature men whose scripts based on Broadway plays are not mere mechanical adaptations. The show is always sensibly cast, meticulously directed.

Local radio, broadcast by individual stations either affiliated with one of the networks or unconnected with any of the chains, has not been good enough to warrant somersaults for a long time. Now and then something worth applause has come along. Usually the program was a one-shot, or a series lasting a brief 13-week cycle. Some of these irregulars were excellent and drew critical raves and lots of audience mail. Most of the time, they were a broadcaster's sop to a weak "public service" record that would have to undergo the scrutiny of the Federal Communications Commission when the three-year license would come up for renewal. Now even the occasional "pubserv" item is given shorter measure. In the TV communities—and these include all of our largest centers of population—television's competition is too keen, the radio broadcaster has had to cut rates and corners, and programming has suffered accordingly. In 1946, when the FCC issued its "Blue Book," *Public Service Responsibility of Radio Licensees*, the industry howled with rage because the government agency slapped the local stations mildly by calling attention to, but refraining from punishing them for, neglect of their legal obligations to serve the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

There was hope in FM a few years ago. That's gone now. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union had opened several FM stations; they have folded. The same is true of the stations started by the United Automobile Workers (CIO).

Some FM stations have held out, even against television. In a "hot" TV center like New York, WABF, operating on the FM band only, and using nothing but recordings of the finest music, is still a great station, an unusually tenacious license holder. Here, music goes on sometimes for an hour without a break for a commercial.

The fact that WABF has stuck to its guns and has managed to keep its head above water is proof enough of the contention that good radio, run imaginatively, could still function. There is another fact. The National Association of Educational Broadcasters has a "network" of its own. Most of the stations on this "chain" hold noncommercial licenses, the majority of them operate on FM only out of university and college campuses around the country. There are now 82 stations served by the NAEB. All receive their programs on tape recordings. The fare ranges from instrumental and choral music to programs with high pedagogic content. But the shows are heard in their communities. In New York, when I can get away from TV and other arduous work, I listen to many of the NAEB's shows over the city's municipal station, WNYC. But you too can hear this better radio. To get the relevant information touching your listening area write to the NAEB Tape Network at the University of Illinois, Urbana.

Yes, radio is still "here to stay." But TV is a potent competitor and will be a tougher one soon, when the FCC lifts the rule in force since the Fall of 1948 when a halt was called to the granting of new licenses for television stations. The broadcast pace is faster than ever, and greater vigilance must be exercised in watching it. For the members of the audience, that means closer attention to what's on the air—on Radio or TV—and faster and more artciulate reaction to the good or bad, preferably through an organization like the National Association for Better Radio and Television.

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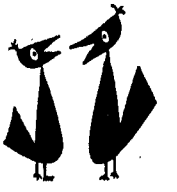

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